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XIII.—OBSERVATIONS ON THE ORIGIN OF THE MEDIÆVAL PASSION-PLAY.

Some fifteen years ago the prevailing theory as to the origin of mediæval plays concerning the Passion was authoritatively expressed in these words:

Im früheren Mittelalter gab es keine anderen Dramatisierungen der Leidensgeschichte als die *Marienklagen*.¹ Erst diese scheinen die Anregung zur Darstellung der Passion gegeben zu haben. Dass dem wirklich so ist, ersehen wir noch aus der Anlage der Passions-spiele. Die Kreuzigungsszene, die den Mittelpunkt bildet, enthält als Hauptteil stets eine *Marienklage*.²

A more recent investigator has again stated the case unequivocally as follows:

Nor indeed can the liturgical drama proper be shown to have advanced beyond a very rudimentary representation of the Passion. This began with the *planctus*, akin to those of the *Quem quæritis*, which express the sorrows of the Virgin and the Maries and St. John around the cross. Such *planctus* exist both in Latin and the vernacular. The earliest are of the twelfth century. Several of them are in dialogue, in which Christ himself occasionally takes part, and they appear to have been sung in church after Matins on Good Friday. The *planctus* must be regarded as the starting-point of a drama of the Passion.³

This theory, that the lament of the Virgin and others at the foot of the Cross is the germ from which the passion-play developed, has not, however, passed without question, as we may infer from the following challenge:

¹ The italics are inserted by the present writer.

² E. Wechssler, *Die romanischen Marienklagen*, Halle, 1893, p. 98.

³ E. K. Chambers, *The Mediæval Stage*, 2 vols., Oxford, 1903, Vol. II, pp. 39-40.

We may conclude with a word about the generally accepted theory that the *planctus* forms the starting point of the passion-plays . . . Whatever the truth may be in other languages as regards the origin and development of the passion-plays, when considered in connection with the English plays as we have them, this theory cannot be accepted without at least certain qualifications. The date of composition of those plays in which the *planctus* are present is so late that it seems very improbable that it is, in its present form, the germ of the play around which other materials gathered. Is it not more probable that the play was based on some model, dramatic or otherwise, and the *planctus* portion written along with the rest of it? . . . In no case is there any conclusive proof which goes to show that the *planctus* is, in the English passion-play, the original portion from which the rest of the play was expanded.¹

Whatever may be the ultimate importance of the *Planctus Mariæ* as a dramatic germ,² a survey of the early passion-plays themselves³ reveals at least two facts: namely, (1) that each of these plays contains a *planctus*, which in some cases pervades a large part of the play,⁴ and which in other cases is a mere lyrical incident in the

¹ G. C. Taylor, *The English Planctus Mariæ*, in *Modern Philology*, Vol. iv, pp. 636-637.

² Of the *Planctus Mariæ*, both as an independent lyric and as a dramatic germ, the most valuable studies are the following: A. Schönbach, *Ueber die Marienklagen*, Graz, 1874; E. Wechssler, *op. cit.*; G. C. Taylor, *op. cit.*; and H. Thien, *Ueber die englischen Marienklagen*, Kiel, 1906.

³ By passion-play I mean a play that actually deals with the complete *Passion* itself, either as an independent play, or as a member of a more comprehensive play or group of plays.

⁴ For documentary evidence see, for example, R. Froning, *Das Drama des Mittelalters*, pp. 758-813; F. J. Mone, *Schauspiele des Mittelalters*, Karlsruhe, 1846, Vol. II, pp. 131-151; A. Pichler, *Ueber das Drama des Mittelalters in Tirol*, Innsbruck, 1850, pp. 115-140; F. Torraca, *Il Teatro Italiano dei Secoli XIII, XIV e XV*, Firenze, 1885, pp. 47 ff.

complete drama of the Passion;¹ and (2) that the groundwork of the passion-plays is clearly the Gospel accounts of the Passion. Although the relation of *planctus* to passion-play has been assiduously investigated, little attention has been paid, in this connection, to the Gospel itself. For this reason, I venture to scrutinize the uses in mediæval worship of the Gospel narrative of the Passion, and to offer certain observations on the relation of *evangelium* to passion-play. Waiving for the moment, then, the question as to whether, in each case, the *planctus* attracted to itself the Passion narrative, or whether the narrative, in becoming dramatized, merely incorporated into itself the *planctus*, we may inquire into the dramatic possibilities of the Passion narrative as it confronted the mediæval dramatist.

I.

The Biblical account of the last hours of Christ upon earth stirred the consciousness of the mediæval worshippers not only from the pages of the Vulgate, but also through one of the most affecting and dramatic of the liturgical observances of Holy Week. From a very early period,—certainly from the time of Leo the Great (Pope, 440-461),²—to the present day, the Roman Liturgy of

¹ For documentary evidence see, for example, W. Meyer, *Fragmenta Burana*, Berlin, 1901, p. 124; *Bullettino dell' Istituto Storico Italiano*, No. 8, 1889, p. 164; Froning, pp. 362, 296-299; Mone, Vol. II, pp. 121, 327 ff.; A. Jubinal, *Mystères inédits*, Paris, 1837, pp. 236-237, 247-252; Torraca, pp. 166 ff.; *Ludus Coventriæ*, edited by J. O. Halliwell, London, 1841, pp. 321 ff.; *The Chester Plays*, edited by T. Wright, London, 1843-47, Vol. II, pp. 61-64; *The Towneley Plays*, edited by England and Pollard, London, 1897, pp. 267-272.

² See the anonymous article *L'Évangile de la Passion*, in *Le Messager des Fidèles (Petite Revue Bénédictine)*, 3me Année, 1886-87, p. 64. It is unfortunate that this admirable article has been so generally overlooked.

Holy Week has included, in connection with the Mass, the reading of the four Gospel accounts of the Passion,—that from Matthew ¹ on Psalm Sunday, that from Mark ² on Tuesday, that from Luke ³ on Wednesday, and that from John ⁴ on Good Friday. Since these lections,—called *passiones*,—contain precisely the matter, and, in some cases, the exact text, of some of the earlier passion-plays, we may well seek accurate information as to the manner in which these lections were delivered,—that is, as to the ceremonial of the *passiones*.

The manner in which the *passio* has been rendered in comparatively recent times has been eloquently described by Cardinal Wiseman:

. . . But there is another part of the Office performed on Sunday [i.e., Palm Sunday] and repeated on Friday, which goes much beyond all this in dramatic power and sublimity of representative effect. I allude . . . to the chaunting of the Passion, according to St. Matthew and St. John, in the service of these two days. This is performed by three interlocutors, in the habit of deacons, who distribute among themselves the parts, as follows:—The narrative is given by one in a strong, manly tenor voice; the words of our Saviour are chaunted in a deep solemn bass and whatever is spoken by any other person is given by the third in a high contralto. This at once produces a dramatic effect; each part has its particular cadence, of old, simple, but rich chaunt, suited to the character represented, and worthy of ancient tragedy. That of the narrator is clear, distinct, and slightly modulated; that in which ordinary interlocutors speak, sprightly and almost bordering upon colloquial familiarity; but that in which our Saviour's words are uttered, is slow, grave, and most solemn, beginning low, and ascending by full tones, then gently varied in rich though simple undulations, till it ends by a graceful and expressive cadence, modified with still greater effect in interrogating phrases. . . . But the peculiar beauty,

¹ Matt. xxvi, 1—xxvii, 61.

² Marc. xiv, 1—xv, 46.

³ Luc. xxii, 1—xxiii, 53.

⁴ Joan. xviii, 1—xix, 42.

or rather the magnificence . . . consists in the chorus. For, whenever the Jewish crowd are made to speak, in the history of the Passion, or indeed whenever any number of individuals interfere, the choir bursts in with its simple but massive harmony, and expresses the sentiment with a truth and energy which thrills through the frame and overpowers the feelings.¹

To many an intelligent and sensitive observer who has stood for an hour before such a ceremonial as this, and has felt the awful approach to the catastrophe, *Emisit spiritum*, it must have occurred that the liturgical *passio* is a sacred drama, or, at least, that the addition of the merest suggestion of impersonation,—a gesture, a change of facial expression, a bit of costume,—would transform the dramatic dialogue into true drama.² To some persons, indeed, the very changes in voice so sympathetically described by Cardinal Wiseman, may seem to indicate a definite effort toward impersonation. It would appear, then, that if the mediæval dramatist had before him a text and a ceremonial so obviously dramatic, he were truly dull not to exert the modicum of effort necessary for converting *passio* directly into passion-play, without the mediation of *planctus* or of any other literary type. It is of capital importance, then, to determine the age of this highly dramatic ceremonial, to determine the nature of the liturgical *passio* during that period of the middle ages when liturgical plays were actually written.

¹ *Four Lectures on the Offices and Ceremonies of Holy Week, as performed in the Papal Chapels*, by Cardinal Wiseman, Baltimore, 1854, pp. 67-68. Although Cardinal Wiseman is describing the singing of the Passion in the Sixtine Chapel, his description applies, in all essential features, to the same liturgical observance in all modern churches that pretend to adequate ceremonial.

² The essentials of true drama are two: (1) the presentation of a story in action, and (2) impersonation of the characters concerned. See Professor Manly's illuminating article in *Modern Philology*, Vol. iv, pp. 577-595.

One writer has inferred that some such ceremonial,—in which the *passio* was delivered in dialogue, by several persons, in several voices,—was prevalent as early as the eleventh century:

We may say also that the arrangement of dividing the narrative between three deacons likewise dates from a remote period. In the liturgical books written considerably before the Norman Conquest we find the parts divided as we divide them now. One deacon, whose allotted portions are marked with an E, sang the part of the Evangelist or narrator; another, by X or a cross, sang all the speeches of Christ our Lord; a third, marked S, for *synagoga*, took the utterances of the other speakers and the mob.¹

Another writer has confidently traced this liturgical practice to a still earlier period.² On the other hand, a few investigators have reached the conclusion that the practice of distributing the parts of the *passio* among several persons arose during the late period when the Middle Ages were giving way to the Renaissance.³

None of these writers, however, has given complete evidence for his inferences. Such scattered evidence as has been given has been drawn from certain letters of the alphabet found written in the manuscript above the passage spoken by the several persons or groups of persons concerned in the Passion story. Above the words of Christ, for example, is often found the letter *t*; above the words of the Jews, the letter *s*; above the merely narrative passages, the letter *c*. A section of the *passio* thus marked presents the following appearance:

¹ H. Thurston, *Lent and Holy Week*, London, 1904, pp. 230-231. See below, p. 330.

² Monsieur l'Abbé Müller, in *Bulletin historique et philologique du Comité des travaux historiques*, Année 1902, Paris, 1903, p. 133.

³ See below, p. 331.

. . . Quem quaeritis? Responderunt ei: Jesum Nazarenum. Dicit eis Jesus: Ego sum. Stabat autem et Judas, qui tradebat eum, cum ipsis. Ut ergo dixit eis: Ego sum: abierunt retrorsum, et ceciderunt in terram. Iterum ergo interrogavit eos: Quem quaeritis? Illi autem dixerunt: Jesum Nazarenum. Respondit Jesus: Dixi vobis, quia ego sum: si ergo me quaeritis, sinite hos abire.¹

Since these letters must have an important bearing upon the manner of rendering the *passio*, an explanation is imperative.

Since neither an extended collection nor a comprehensive explanation of these *litterae in superscriptione* has as yet been published, I must first present a somewhat substantial list of the *litterae* themselves. One would gladly relegate this task to liturgiology rather than to literary history; but, since liturgiology has not performed its duty, literary history must itself seek those data without which a sound investigation of the origin of the passion-play is impossible.

The *litterae* found in the manuscript *passiones* may be grouped as follows:

TABULAE LITTERARUM IN SUPERSCRPTIONE.²

I.	Christus = <i>t</i>
	Narrator = <i>c</i>
	Judaei = <sine littera>

¹ Joann. xviii, 4-8. I believe that this passage in the liturgical *passio* has not been sufficiently considered as to its possible influence upon the original composition of the *Quem quaeritis* Introit trope of Easter.

² These tables, based primarily upon the *evangelitaria* and *missalia* in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, with a few additions from

Oxford, Bibl. Bodl. ms. 155, saec. x. A.—*Ibid.*, ms. Douce 176, saec. x in. B.

A has no *litterae* for Mark. B has *litterae* only for Matthew.

II. Christus = *t*
 Narrator = *c*
 Judaei = *a*

Oxford, Bibl. Bodl., ms. Canon. Bibl. 43, saec. xi. A.—*Ibid.*, ms. Canon. Bibl. 45, saec. xi. B.—*Ibid.*, ms. Lat. Liturg. e. 3., saec. xi. C.—*Ibid.*, ms. Canon. Liturg. 324, saec. xi. D.—Rome, Bibl. Vatic., ms.. 9449, saec. xii. E.

III. Christus = *a*
 Narrator = *e*
 Judaei = *sl*, *sm* <*sm* for Discipuli only>.

Oxford, Bibl. Bodl., ms. Laud Lat. 26, saec. x.

IV. Christus = *t*
 Narrator = *c*
 Judaei = *l*

Paris manuscripts, do not pretend to be exhaustive. I know of no similar list in print, and I consider the present list entirely adequate for the deductions that I wish to make. The definitive list of such *litterae* will appear eventually in the monumental *Paleografia Musicale Vaticana* now being prepared by the distinguished liturgiologist, The Reverend Henry Marriott Bannister, M. A., of Rome. I await a more adequate opportunity for expressing my innumerable obligations to the inspiring erudition and generosity of The Reverend Mr. Bannister. In the present case I would thank him for my first acquaintance with the general subject, and, more particularly, for several of the citations from manuscripts in Rome, Modena, and Nonantula. Mr. Bannister, however, is responsible neither for the arrangement nor for the interpretation of data presented herewith.

Oxford, Bibl. Bodl., ms. Laud Lat. 27, saec. xi. The manuscript has *litterae* only for John.

V. Christus = *t*
 Narrator = *c*
 Judaei = *l*, *m* < *m* for Discipuli only>.

Rome, Bibl. Vat., ms. lat. 6080, saec. xi.

VI. Christus = +
 Narrator = *c*
 Judaei = *s*

Oxford, Bibl. Bodl., ms. Lat. Liturg. b. 4., saec. xiv. A.—*Ibid.*, ms. Rawl. C. 147., saec. xv. B.—*Ibid.*, ms. Douce 313, saec. xiv in. C.—*Ibid.*, ms. Canon. Liturg. 350, saec. xi. D.—*Ibid.*, ms. Auct. D. 2. 16., saec. xi. E.—Paris, Bibl Nat., ms. lat. 1106, saec. xiv. F.—*Ibid.*, ms. nouv. acq. lat. 1890, saec. xii. G.—*Ibid.*, ms. lat. 890, saec. xiv. H.—*Ibid.*, ms. lat. 895, saec. xi. I.—Rouen, Bibl. de la Ville, ms. 278 (*olim* A. 33), saec. xiv. J.—*Ibid.*, ms. 279 (*olim* A. 308), saec. xiv. K.—Tours, Petit Seminaire, Missale plenum saec. xi. L.¹—London, Brit. Mus., ms. Add. 36616, saec. xiv in. M.

ms. A has the following peculiarities only in connection with Mark: the words of Christ, *Deus meus*, *Deus meus*, *ut quid dereliquisti me*, and those of the Centurion, *Vere*, *hic homo filius Dei erat*, are marked *mi*; the words of the Jews are sometimes marked *m*.

VII. Christus = +
 Narrator = *s*
 Judaei = *c*

¹ My acquaintance with this manuscript is due to the kindness of The Reverend Father Dom G. M. Beyssac, O. S. B.

Oxford, Bibl. Bodl., ms. Canon. Bibl. 61, saec. XII.

The ms. lacks the Gospel of John, and for Matthew has Christus = \times , Narrator = *e*, Judaei = *i*. Cf. Tables VIII and XVII.

VIII. Christus = \times
 Narrator = *e*
 Judaei = *i*

Oxford, Bibl. Bodl., ms. Canon. Bibl. 61, saec. XII.

These *litterae* occur in this ms. only in connection with the Gospel of Matthew. Cf. Tables VII and XVII.

IX. Christus = $+$
 Narrator = *c*
 Judaei = *l*

Oxford, Bibl. Bodl., ms. Canon. Bibl. Lat. 29, saec. XIII. A.—Rome, Bibl. Vat., ms. lat. 4770, saec. X-XI. B.—*Ibid.*, ms. lat. 6378, saec. XIII-XIV. C.

In A occasionally Narrator = *io*. Cf. Table XVIII.

X. Christus = *s*
 Narrator = *t*
 Judaei = *c*

Oxford, Bibl. Bodl., ms. Laud Lat. 102, saec. X.

The ms. has complete *litterae* only for Matthew. Luke and John have no *litterae*, and Mark has only Christus = *t*, Narrator = *c*. Cf. Table I.

XI. Christus = *t*
 Narrator = *c*
 Judaei = *s*

Oxford, Bibl. Bodl., ms. Lat. Liturg. e. 2., saec. xi. A.—*Ibid.*, ms. Douce 292, saec. xi. B.—Edinburgh, Advocates' Library, ms. 18. 5. 19 (*olim* A. 6. 12), saec. xiii-xiv (published by H. J. Lawlor, *The Rosslyn Missal*, London, 1899, Henry Bradshaw Society). C.—Rome, Bibl. Vat., ms. Palat. 48, saec. xii. D.—*Ibid.*, ms. 8892, saec. xii. E.—Rome, Bibl. Vallicellana, ms. B. 50, saec. ix-x. F.—Paris, Bibl. Nat., ms. lat. 823, saec. xii. G.—London, Brit. Mus., ms. Add. 34662, saec. xiv. H.

B lacks *litterae* for Luke and John, and C has *litterae* only for Matthew. For the text of Luke F has Christus = *c* (manu¹), + (manu²); for the text of John, Christus = *t* (manu¹), *m* (manu²).

- XII. Christus = + (manu¹), *a* (manu² saec. xv-xvi)
 Narrator = *m* (manu¹), *c* (manu² saec. xv-xvi)
 Judaei = *s* (manu¹), *a* (manu² saec. xv-xvi)

Oxford, Bibl. Bodl., ms. Laud Miscell. 273, saec. xiii.

- XIII. Christus = *l* (manu¹), + (manu² passim)
 Narrator = *c*
 Judaei = *s*

Oxford, Bibl. Bodl., ms. Canon. Liturg. 350, saec. xi.
 The ms. lacks *litterae* for Mark and Luke. Cf. Table vi.

- XIV. Christus = *i*
 Narrator = *c*
 Judaei = *s*

F. E. Warren, *The Manuscript Irish Missal belonging to the President and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Oxford*, London, 1879, (ms. saec. xii). The ms. has *litterae* only for Matthew.

- XV. Christus = *b*
 Narrator = *m*
 Judaei = *a*

Missale ad usum . . . Sarum, edited by F. H. Dickinson, Burntisland, 1861-83, col. 264-324.

- XVI. Christus = *t*
 Narrator = *m*
 Judaei = *a*

Rome, Bibl. Vat., ms. Palat. 502, saec. xiv.

- XVII. Christus = *d*
 Narrator = *e*
 Judaei = *l, i, s.*

Modena, Bibl. Capit., ms. 24, saec. xi.

- XVIII. Christus = *d*
 Narrator = *pt*
 Judaei = *s, io.*

Nonantula, Relic Chamber, Graduale saec. xii.

- XIX. Christus = *d*
 Narrator = *s*
 Judaei = *l*

Rome, Bibl. Casanatensis, ms. 1907 (B. II. 1), saec. x-xi.

- XX. Christus = *h*
 Narrator = *a*
 Judaei = *su, si*

Monte Cassino, MS. CXXVII, saec. XI. A.—Monte Cassino, MS. CCXXIX (from which the *Passio secundum Matt.* is printed by Wilmotte, *Études Critiques sur la Tradition Littéraire en France*, Paris, 1909, pp. 43-47). B.

In A the words of Peter are sometimes marked with a P.

XXI.	Christus = <i>i</i>
	Narrator = <i>t</i>
	Judaei = <i>a</i>

Missal of St. Médard, Soissons (saec. XII). Communicated from Abbé Eugène Müller in the *Bulletin historique et philologique du Comité des travaux historiques*. Année 1902. Paris, 1903, pp. 132-133.¹

The *litterae* in the lists above may be conveniently grouped as follows:

<i>Christus</i>	<i>Narrator</i>	<i>Judaei</i>
✚	a	a
×	c	c
a	e	i
b	io	io
c	m	l
d	pt	m
h	s	mi
i	t	s
l		si
m		sl
s		sm
t		su

¹ See *ibid.* for a communication concerning the *litterae u, t, and s* in an "Évangélaire de Noyon" of the 9th century. In the communication there is no indication as to the part of the *passio* marked by each *littera*.

Although no one has offered a comprehensive explanation of these *litterae* as a whole, numerous writers have made suggestions as to the interpretation of single letters. We may first review the opinions of those who have inferred that the *litterae* refer directly to the *persons* engaged in delivering the *passio*. The series +, *c*, *s* has been interpreted as Christus, Clerus, Subdiaconus,¹ as Christus, Chronista or Cantor, Synagoga or Succentor,² and as Presbyter, Clericus, Subdiaconus.³ The series ×, *e*, *s* has been interpreted as Christus, Evangelista, Synagoga.⁴ The series ×, *e*, *t* has been interpreted as Christus, Evangelista, Turba.⁵ For the series ×, *c*, *t* we have the interpretation Christus, Cantor, Turba.⁶ It is suggested that the series *s*, *e*, *ch* may mean Salvator, Evangelista, Chorus.⁷ As to the intention of the series H, P, si, su we have the suggestion Hiesus, Petrus or Pilatus or

¹ E. DuMéril, *Les Origines Latines du Théâtre Moderne*, Leipzig and Paris, 1897, p. 47, note 3.

² D. Magri, *Notizia de' Vocaboli Ecclesiastici*, Venezia, 1732, p. 339; Wetzer und Welter, *Kirchenlexikon*, Vol. ix, col. 1575. Cf. *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by J. A. F. Maitland, Vol. iii, New York, 1907, p. 646.

³ See Sepet, in *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, Vol. xxviii, 1867, p. 13.

⁴ H. Thurston, *Lent and Holy Week*, London, 1904, pp. 230-231.

⁵ *Grove's Dictionary*, ed. cit., Vol. iii, p. 646. No document is given in support of this series. As may be inferred from my tables above, I have encountered no manuscript in which the words of the Judaei are marked with a *t*. As to the ultra-modern practice of assigning the part of the Jewish crowd to a choir, called *turba*, see Cardinal Wiseman's description quoted above.

⁶ Wetzer und Welter, *Kirchenlexikon*, Vol. ix, col. 1575.

⁷ *Grove's Dictionary*, ed. cit., Vol. iii, p. 646. No document is given in support of this series. I have seen no manuscript in which the words of the Judaei are marked with the combination *ch*.

Pontifex, Synagoga, Subdiaconus.¹ To explain the combination *cs*, Mone suggested *Cantus solus*.² The extremity seems to be reached in the suggestion that the *littera a* means *Ancilla*.³

Although certain of these suggestions are less fantastic than others, one gladly turns from what, in most cases, are obvious guesses, to an interpretation that has at least the virtue of resting upon a comprehensive principle. As early as the thirteenth century, Durandus, Bishop of Mende, recorded the fact that the several rôles in the *passiones* were sung in *different tones of voice*:

On ne lit pas non plus toute la passion sur le ton ordinaire de l'évangile; mais la partie du chant des paroles du Christ est plus douce et plus suave, pour marquer que les paroles du Christ retentissaient dans sa bouche plus doucement et d'une manière plus suave que dans la bouche de n'importe quel évangéliste qui rapporte ces paroles. Les paroles du Christ se chantent sur le ton de l'évangile; celles des Juifs impies et criminels sont criardes et pleines d'âpreté, pour désigner qu'ils parlaient au Christ avec rudesse et dureté.⁴

In this passage Durandus gives no hint that the *passio* was

¹ M. Wilmotte, *Études critiques sur la tradition littéraire en France*, Paris, 1909, pp. 10-12.

² F. J. Mone, *Schauspiele des Mittelalters*, Karlsruhe, 1846, Vol. I, p. 60. One surmises that Mone misunderstood this 15th century *passio*, and that what he really had before him was the familiar series +, c, s. See Table VI above.

³ See *Bulletin de la Société Nivernaise des Sciences, Lettres et Arts*, 2e Série, Tome VIII (1880), p. 472.

⁴ *G. Durandi Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, Lib. VI, cap. LXVIII, § vi; in the translation of C. Barthélemy, 5 Vols., Paris, 1854, Vol. IV, p. 56. On this point see Gerbert, *De cantu et musica sacra*, Vol. I, p. 533. Mr. Bannister has kindly given me the basis for the following note: Benevento, Chapter Library, MS. VI. 29, saec. XI-XII, fol. 126r sqq.,—Christus is marked *plane*; Narrator, *lec<tio>* or *in lec<tione>*; Judaei, *sur<sum>*. The brackets are mine.

sung by more than one person, but merely reports that the words of Christ were not sung in the ordinary Gospel tone, and that the pitch and manner in which the words of the Jews were sung were different from the pitch and manner adopted in the singing of the words of Christ.

In the light of such evidence, the query arises as to whether the *litterae in superscriptione* may not refer to such vocal variations as those mentioned by Durandus. To such a query various affirmative answers have been given.¹ One writer communicates the following suggestions: *m* = *mediocriter*, *a* = *alte*, *t* = *tacite*, *c* = *clare*, and *s* = *sonoriter*.² The Sarum Missal explicitly indicates that according to its use the series *a*, *b*, and *m* means *alta voce*, *bassa voce*, and *mediocri voce*.³ Although these suggestions are based upon the fundamental principle that the *litterae* indicate not persons but musical values, these interpretations themselves apply only to particular documents, and can be accepted only as more or less successful conjectures, unless they can be based upon some comprehensive mediæval authority. Such comprehensive authority can, I think, be found in a document from the hand of the St. Gall monk, Notker Balbulus.

Ekkehard IV († 1036), chronicler of the Abbey of St. Gall, mentions as the inventor of such *litterae* as we

¹ On the general matter see *Le Messager des Fidèles*, 3me Année, 1886-87, p. 65; F. Madan, *A Summary Catalogue of the Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, Vol. v, p. 666; M. Sepet, *Origines Catholiques du Théâtre Moderne*, Paris, [1901], pp. 16-17.

² H. J. Lawlor, *The Rosslyn Missal*, Henry Bradshaw Society, London, 1899, p. 128.

³ *Missale ad usum . . . Sarum*, edited by F. H. Dickinson, Burntisland, 1861-1883, col. 264. Cf. *Grove's Dictionary. ed. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 646.

have been considering, one Romanus, a Roman *cantor* who sojourned at St. Gall during the last of the eighth century and the beginning of the ninth. In his account of Romanus, Ekkehard refers to an explanation of these *litterae* in a letter of Notker Balbulus: ¹

In ipso <antiphonario> ² quoque primus ille <Romanus> literas alphabeti significativas notulis, quibus visum est, aut susum, aut iusum, aut ante, aut retro assignari excogitavit. Quas postea cuidam amice <sic> querenti Notker Balbulus dilucidavit.³

The letter of Notker containing the desired explanation seems to be the following:⁴

Notker Lamberto fratri salutem.

Quid singulae litterae in superscriptione significant cantilenaе, prout potui iuxta tuam petitionem explanare curavi.

a—Ut altius elevetur admonet.

b—Secundum litteras quibus adiungitur ut bene id est multum extollatur vel gravetur sive teneatur belgicat.

c—Ut cito vel celeriter dicatur certificat.

d—Ut deprimatur demonstrat.

¹ Notker Balbulus died about the year 912. For the sources of information concerning this highly cultivated monk see L. Gautier, *Les Tropes*, Paris, 1886, pp. 19-20.

² The brackets in this passage are mine.

³ *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, ed. G. H. Pertz, Vol. II, Hannover, 1828, p. 103. Cf. *Paléographie Musicale*, Vol. IV, Solesmes, 1894, p. 9.

⁴ This letter is printed by Migne, *Pat. lat.*, cxxxI, 1171. I quote from a later edition in *Paléographie Musicale*, Vol. IV, p. 10, based upon St. Gall ms. 381 and an abridged form of the letter in a manuscript of the Church of St. Thomas, Leipzig.

- e—Ut equaliter sonetur eloquitur.
- f—Ut cum fragore seu frendore feriat *efflagitat*.
- g—Ut in gutture gradatim garruletur *genuine gratulatur*.
- h—Ut tantum in scriptura aspirat, ita et in nota idipsum habitat.
- i—Iusum vel inferius insinuat, gravitudinemque pro *g* interdum indicat.
- k—Licet apud Latinos nihil valeat, apud nos tamen alemannos, pro *χ* greca positum *chlenche* il est *clange* clamitat.
- l—Levare laetatur.
- m—Mediocriter melodiam moderari mendicando memorat.
- n—Notare hoc est noscitare notificat.
- o—Figuram sui in ore cantantis ordinat.
- p—Pressionem vel prensionem predicat.
- q—In significationibus notarum cur quaeratur? cum etiam in verbis ad nihil aliud scribatur nisi ut sequens *v* vim suam omittere quaeratur.
- r—Rectitudinem vel rasuram non abolitionis sed *crispationis* rogitat.
- s—Susum vel sursum scandere sibilat.
- t—Trahere vel tenere debere testatur.
- v—Licet amissa vi sua, valde, veluti *vau* greca vel hebrea, velificat.
- x—Quamvis latina per se verba non inchoet, tamen expectare expetit.
- y—Apud Latinos nihil ymnizat.
- z—Vero licet et ipsa mere greca, et ob id haut necessaria romanis, propter praedictam tamen *r* litterae occupationem, ad alia requirere in sua lingua *zitîse* . . . ¹ require.

¹ Small erasure.

Ubicumque autem duae vel tres aut plures litterae ponuntur in uno loco, ex superiori interpretatione, maximeque, quam de b dixi, quid sibi velint facile poterit adverti

The *litterae* expounded by Notker may be conveniently arranged in groups: ¹

I. *Litterae* relating to intonation:

Elevation	{	a—Ut altius elevetur admonet. l—Levare neumam. s—Sursum scandere. g—Ut in gutture garruletur gradatim.
Lowering	{	d—Ut deprimatur. i—Iusum vel inferius insinuat.
Unisonant	{	e—Ut equaliter sonetur

II. *Litterae* relating to rhythm:

Acceleration	{	c—Ut cito vel celeriter dicatur. t—Trahere vel tenere.
Retardation	{	x—Expectare. m—Mediocriter moderari melodiam.
Intensity	{	p—Pressionem significat. f—Ut cum frangore feriat. k—Clange clamat.

III. *Litterae* used to modify other *litterae*:

- b—Ut bene extollatur vel gravetur sive teneatur.
v—Valde.
(m)—Mediocriter.

¹ These groups are adapted from those in *Paléographie Musicale*, Vol. iv, Solesmes, 1894, pp. 12-15.

IV. *Litterae* rarely or never used:

h—Nota aspirationis.

n—Notare notificat.

o—Figuram sui in ore cantantis notificat.

q—In significationibus notarum non invenitur.

r—Rectitudinem vel crispationem significat.

y—Nihil ymnizat.

z—. . . haut necessaria romanis.

Notker's letter seems to explain substantially,—perhaps completely,—the *litterae* that we have found actually attached to the liturgical *passiones*. Let us consider first the marks attached to the words of Christ. The sign † or +, common in later manuscripts, seems to indicate merely that the accompanying words are those of Christus.¹ The sign × may be merely a Greek *Chi*,² or it may, in some cases, be Notker's *χ*, indicating retardation, or it may be merely a form of the cross. Aside from the marks †, +, and ×, which may have no connection with the true *litterae*, the letter *t* is present in an overwhelming majority of manuscripts. The musical significance of this *littera* is retardation, an interpretation suggested also by the letter *m* (*mediocriter moderari melodiam*), found in a fair number of manuscripts. The letters *d* and *i* both indicate a lowering in pitch. The letter *b* may be used in Notker's sense of *bene*, or it may mean merely *bassa voce*, as it certainly does in the opinion of the compilers of the Sarum liturgy.³ The letter *h* found in two Monte Cassino manuscripts seems to suggest something

¹ It is not inconceivable that the sign † in this connection arose first as a scribal corruption of the letter *t*.

² Cf. $\overline{\chi\rho^3}$, $\overline{\chi\rho^4}$, etc., common in Latin manuscripts.

³ See Table xv.

more than merely the *aspiratio* indicated by Notker. I have no explanation that I care to offer.¹ In a very few manuscripts an elevation in pitch is suggested by the letters *a*, *l*, and *s*. The letter *c*, very unusual in this connection,² seems to indicate acceleration.

In connection with the words of the Narrator the *littera* most frequently found is *c*, indicating, very appropriately, an accelerated *tempo*. The letter *m*, found not uncommonly, suggests retardation, as does also the occasional letter *t*. The letter *e* points to a constancy of pitch, and the letter *s* to a raising of pitch. The combination *io* may indicate a lowering of pitch and a rounding of the lips.³

For the words of the Jews the prevailing *litterae* indicate a raising of pitch (*a*, *l*, *s*, *sl*, *sm*) and an acceleration of *tempo* (*c*). A limited number of manuscripts, however, seem to suggest for these words a lowering of pitch (*i*, *io*, *m*, *mi*).⁴

In summary, then, one may fairly say that Notker's list of *singulae litterae in superscriptione* offers a consistent explanation for nearly all of the *litterae* actually found in connection with the *passiones*. In accordance with this explanation, the greater number of manuscripts seem to indicate that the words of Christ were delivered slowly, in a low pitch, the words of the Narrator, rapidly, in a somewhat higher pitch, and the words of the Jews, rapidly,

¹ I have no confidence in the explanation *Hiesus*.

² See Table XI, MS. F.

³ For *p̄t* I have no explanation.

⁴ I hesitate to interpret *su* and *si* from the Monte Cassino MSS. cited in Table XX. These letters may have no connection with Notker's *litterae*. *Su* may mean *sursum*; *si* probably does not mean *sibillatio*, and certainly does not mean *Synagoga*.

in a high pitch. This general interpretation accords admirably with the intention of the liturgical text itself and with subsequent traditions as to the rendering of the *passio*.

Although it is clear, then, that the *litterae* are, in general, only musical conventions indicating pitch, intensity, or velocity, the question still remains as to whether the *passio* was rendered by one person or by several persons. Were the several "parts,"—of Christ, of the Narrator, and of the Judaei,—distributed among three or more persons, or were all sung by one person? Was the *passio* actually sung in dialogue during the period represented by the manuscripts cited in our *Tabulae litterarum in superscriptione*?

One investigator, on the basis of *litterae* found in a ninth-century manuscript, reports his conviction that these signs "démontrent l'usage d'une lecture avec dialogues plus ou moins déclamée et musiquée, commencement de drame liturgique, dès le IX^e siècle."¹ Another writer assigns the practice of singing the *passio* in dialogue form to a period "considerably before the Norman Conquest."² Again, it is asserted that this practice has been customary "since the beginning of the 13th century, and probably from a much earlier period."³ The numerous writers⁴

¹ Report of a communication from Monsieur l'Abbé Eugène Müller, in *Bulletin historique et philologique du Comité des travaux historiques*, Année 1902, Paris, 1903, p. 133.

² H. Thurston, *Lent and Holy Week*, London, 1904, pp. 230-231, quoted above.

³ *Grove's Dictionary*, ed. cit., Vol. III, p. 646.

⁴ The following writers seem to share in the opinion that the dialoguing began at an early period: H. Reidt (*Das geistliche Schauspiel des Mittelalters*, Frankfurt, 1868, p. 12), G. Cohen (*Histoire de la mise en scène dans le théâtre religieux français du*

who assign the dialoguing of the *passio* to an early period seem to base their opinion upon the *litterae in superscriptione* alone, and upon a mistaken interpretation of the *litterae*; for, as I have tried to show, these signs refer not to *persons* but to *music*.

On the other hand, other investigators have expressed the opinion that the dialoguing of the *passio* must date from a comparatively modern period,¹ and a few have been convinced that this practice was begun in the fifteenth century.² Although the writers last referred to hold what I believe to be, in general, the correct opinion, none of them has, I think, brought to bear upon the question the decisive evidence found in certain mediæval service-books. In an attempt to determine the manner in which the *passio* was rendered, one may consult not only the *evangelia*, which contain the actual texts of the *passiones*, but also the *ordinaria* and the other service-books that contain the *agenda* of the ceremonial. The following manuscripts furnish pertinent evidence:

(1) Paris, Bibl. Nat., ms. lat., Graduale saec. XIII, fol. 90^r,— . . . diaconus legat passionem . . . ;

moyen âge, Bruxelles, 1906, p. 18), Du Ménil (*Les Origines latines du Théâtre Moderne*, Leipzig and Paris, 1897, p. 47), and K. Hase (*Das geistliche Schauspiel*, Leipzig, 1858, p. 11).

¹ A writer in *Bulletin de la Société Nivernaise des Sciences, Lettres et Arts*, 2e Série, Tome VIII, 1880, p. 472, characterizes the practice of distributing the "parts" among three persons as "sans doute très moderne." See also J. B. E. Pascal, *Origines et Raison de la Liturgie Catholique*, Paris, 1863, col. 963-964.

² See *Le Messager des Fidèles (Petite Revue Bénédictine)*, 3me Année, 1886-87, No. 2, pp. 61, 65; Catalani, *Rituale Romanum*, Patavii 1760, Vol. II, p. 188; Wetzer und Welter, *Kirchenlexikon*, Vol. IX, Freiburg, 1895, col. 1575; *York Missal (Surtees Society, Vols. LIX and LX)*, Vol. I, p. 102.

(2) Rouen, Bibliothèque de la Ville, ms. Y. 110, *Ordinarium saec. xiv*, fol. 79^r,—*Dyaconus . . . legat passionem . . .* ;

(3) Paris, Bibl. Nat., ms. lat. 1213, *Ordinarium saec. xv*, p. 81,—*Diaconus . . . legat passionem* ;

(4) Oxford, University College, ms. 169, *Ordinarium saec. xv in.*, p. 106,—*. . . legat diaconus passionem . . .*

Such evidence ¹ seems clearly to indicate that until a comparatively late date the *passio* was still delivered, not by several deacons (*diaconi*), but by a single deacon (*diaconus*), however severely the voice of the single deacon may have been taxed by so long and so exacting a recital.

Although we may be sure that the dramatic distribution of the "parts" of the *passio* among three singers is an innovation of the fifteenth century, we do find in the ceremonial of the earlier, as well as of the later, period considerable evidence to prove that the dramatic possibilities of the *passio* were appreciated. Numerous rubrics indicate an attempt to make the accompanying ceremonial illustrate in some more or less dramatic way the action recounted in the passion story itself. During the singing of the *Passio secundum Lucam* on Wednesday of Holy Week, at the words *Velum templi scissum est*, a curtain that had previously been hung before the altar was dropped

¹ The evidence, no doubt, may be multiplied indefinitely. See Paris, Bibl. Nat., ms. lat. 14455, saec. xv, fol. 54^r; *Ibid.*, ms. lat. 10579, saec. XIII-XIV, fol. 67^r, 72^v; Paris, Bibl. S. Geneviève, ms. 1256, saec. XII, fol. 82^v; E. Martène, *Tractatus de antiquis ecclesiae disciplina*, Lugduni, 1706, pp. 205, 369, 372, 385, 386, 397; W. Kelly, *Notices Illustrative of the Drama*, London, 1865, p. 24; J. Brand, *Popular Antiquities of Great Britain*, edited by W. C. Hazlitt, 3 Vols., 1870, Vol. I, p. 216; *Ordines Romani*, Migne, *Pat. lat.*, Vol. LXXVIII, col. 953, 1013.

or torn,¹ or at the words *Obscuratus est sol*, a curtain was let down from above.² During the singing of the *Passio secundum Joannem* on Good Friday, at the words *Partiti sunt vestimenta mea sibi* certain clerics tore, or removed, certain linen altar coverings.³ In the singing of any of the *passiones*, at the point where Christ's death is announced there was a pause in the recital,⁴ an extinguishing of lights,⁵ or a general prostration of the congregation.⁶ At the end of the recital of the *passio*, the book containing the text was sometimes placed in the *sepulchrum*,⁷ in memory, no doubt, of the burial of Christ.⁸

It would appear, then, that mediæval liturgists appreciated the dramatic value of the *passio* as *passio*. That mediæval dramatists realized the value of the *passio* also as drama, seems to be evident from the fact that the earlier

¹ E. Martène, *Tractatus de antiqua ecclesiae disciplina*, Lugduni, 1706, pp. 222, 398; *Messenger des Fidèles*, 3me Année, 1886-87, p. 66. Cf. Martigny, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Chrésiennes*, Paris, 1865, pp. 150, 667-668; E. Hautcoeur, *Documents liturgiques et nécrologiques de l'Eglise collégiale de Saint-Pierre de Lille*, Lille, 1895, pp. 38, 42; Chambers, Vol. II, p. 5; *Voyages liturgiques de France* . . . par le Sieur de Moleon, Paris, 1718, pp. 205, 314, 396, 407.

² F. J. Mone, *Schauspiele des Mittelalters*, Karlsruhe, 1846, Vol. I, p. 61.

³ *Messenger des Fidèles*, 3me Année, 1886-87, p. 66; Martène, pp. 369, 370, 372, 377, 382, 386, 388; Paris, Bibl. Nat., ms. lat. 10579, saec. XIII-XIV, fol. 72v, ms. lat. 904, saec. XIII, fol. 90r. Cf. Durandus, *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, Lugduni, 1559, fol. 343r; Chambers, Vol. II, pp. 5-6.

⁴ *Messenger des Fidèles*, loc. cit., p. 67; Martène, pp. 379, 397. Cf. *Dublin Review*, Vol. CXVII (1895), p. 67.

⁵ Martène, pp. 198, 358.

⁶ Martène, pp. 207-208.

⁷ For information concerning the *sepulchrum* see *Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters*, Vol. XVI, Part II, p. 895.

⁸ Martène, p. 358; *Messenger des Fidèles*, loc. cit., pp. 66-67.

passion-plays, whatever their origin, have as their obvious groundwork the *passio* itself. Although a comparison of the complete texts of early passion-plays with the texts of the *passiones* is beyond the scope of the present article, the fidelity with which the text of the *passio* has been transferred into the dialogue of the passion-play may be illustrated by a few instances.

From the Benedictbeuern Passion-play,¹ of the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, the following comparison may be drawn:

BENEDICTBEUERN PASSION-PLAY.²

PASSIO.

Deinde vadat orare et dicat
quatuor discipulis:

Tunc ait illis:

Tristis est anima mea usque
ad mortem! sustinete hic et
orate, ne intretis in temptaci-
onem!

Tristis est anima mea usque
ad mortem; sustinete hic, et
vigilate mecum.³

Tunc ascendat in montem Oli-
veti, et flexis genibus respiciens
celum plorat dicendo:

Et progressus pusillum, pro-
cidit in faciem suam, orans, et
dicens:

Pater, si fieri potest, transeat
a me calix iste! Spiritus qui-
dem promptus est, caro autem
infirmā: fiat voluntas tua.

Pater mi, si possibile est, tran-
seat a me calix iste; verumta-
men non sicut ego volo, sed
sicut tu.⁴

Spiritus quidem promptus est,
caro autem infirmā.⁵

¹ In regard to the texts of this play see Froning, p. 283. On the nature of the play see Froning, pp. 278-283; W. Meyer, *Fragmenta Burana*, Berlin, 1901, pp. 64 ff.

² Froning, pp. 291-292.

³ Matt. xxvi, 38. Cf. Matt. xxvi, 41; Marc. xiv, 34, 38; Luc. xxii, 40, 46.

⁴ Matt. xxvi, 39.

⁵ Matt. xxvi, 41.

Hoc facto redeat ad iv discipulos, et inueniat eos dormientes, et dicat Petro:

Et venit, et inuenit eos dormientes, et ait Petro:

Symon, dormis? non potuisti una hora vigilare mecum? manete hic, donec vadam et orem.

Simon, dormis? non potuisti una hora vigilare?¹
Sedete hic donec orem.²

Postea vadat iterum orare ut antea. Tunc iterato veniat ad discipulos et inueniat eos dormientes et dicat ad eos:

Et venit iterum, et inuenit eos dormientes.³

Manete hic!

Et iterum dicit:

Iterum secundo abiit, et oravit, dicens:

Pater, si non potest hic calix transire, nisi bibam illum, fiat voluntas tua.

Pater mi, si non potest hic calix transire nisi bibam illum, fiat voluntas tua.⁴

Tunc redeat ad discipulos et cantet:

Una hora non potuistis vigilare mecum, qui exhortabamini mori pro me! vel Iudam non videbitis, quomodo non dormit, set festinat tradere me Iudeis? Surgite, eamus! ecce appropinquat, qui me traditurus est!

Sic non potuistis una hora vigilare mecum?⁵

Surgite, eamus; ecce appropinquavit qui me tradet.⁶

¹ Marc. xiv, 37. Cf. Matt. xxvi, 40.

² Marc. xiv, 32. Cf. Matt. xxvi, 36.

³ Matt. xxvi, 43.

⁴ Matt. xxvi, 42.

⁵ Matt. xxvi, 40. Cf. Marc. xiv, 37.

⁶ Matt. xxvi, 46. Cf. Marc. xiv, 42.

Veniat Iudas ad Iesum cum turba Iudeorum, quibus Ihesus dicat:

Judas ergo cum accepisset cohortem, et a Pontificibus et Pharisaeis ministros, venit illuc cum lanternis, et facibus, et armis. Jesus itaque sciens omnia, quae ventura erant super eum, processit, et dixit eis:

Quem queritis?

Quem quaeritis? ¹

Qui respondent:

Responderunt ei:

Iesum Nazarenum.

Iesum Nazarenum.

Iesus dicit:

Dicit eis Jesus:

Ego sum.

Ego sum.

Et turba retrocedat. Item Iesus dicit:

Stabat autem et Judas, qui tradebat eum, cum ipsis. Ut ego dixit eis: Ego sum: abierunt retrorsum, et ceciderunt in terram. Iterum ergo interrogavit eos:

Quem queritis?

Quem quaeritis?

Iudei:

Illi autem dixerunt:

Iesum Nazarenum!

Iesum Nazarenum.

Iesus respondet:

Respondit Jesus:

Dixi vobis, quia ego sum.

Dixi vobis, quia ego sum:

Item:

¹ I have suggested above that the formation of the *Quem quaeritis* Introit trope of Easter may have been influenced by this part of the *passio*. Cf. p. 315, note 1.

Si ergo me queritis, sinite hos
abire!

Si ergo me quaeritis, sinite
hos abire.¹

The agreement between the dialogue of the thirteenth century *Ludus brevis de Passione*² and the *passio* may be illustrated by the following comparison:

LUDUS BREVIS DE PASSIONE.³

PASSIO.

Ludus brevis de passione primo inchoatur ita, Quando dominus cum discipulis suis procedere vult ad locum deputatum, ubi mandatum debet esse; et in processu dicant apostoli ad dominum:

Ubi vis paremus tibi comedere pascha?

Et dominus respondet:

Ite in civitatem ad quemdam et dicite ei: Magister dicit: tempus meum prope est; apud te facio pascha cum discipulis meis.

Et in deputato loco faciant mensam parari cum mensale cum pane et vino. Et dominus discumbat cum duodecim apostolis suis et edentibus illis dicat:

Amen dico vobis quia unus vestrum me traditurus est in hac nocte.

Prima autem die azymorum accesserunt discipuli ad Jesum, dicentes:

Ubi vis paremus tibi comedere Pascha?

At Jesus dixit:

Ite in civitatem ad quemdam, et dicite ei: Magister dicit: Tempus meum prope est, apud te facio Pascha cum discipulis meis.

Et fecerunt discipuli sicut constituit illis Jesus, et paraverunt Pascha. Vespere autem facto, discumbebat cum duodecim discipulis suis. Et edentibus illis, dixit:

Amen dico vobis quia unus vestrum me traditurus est.

¹ Joan. xviii, 3-8.

² Meyer gives both the text of this play and facsimiles from the manuscript (*Fragmenta Burana*, pp. 123-124, and Plates 5-7). Concerning this play see Meyer, pp. 64 ff., 122-123; Chambers, Vol. II, pp. 40, 75.

³ Meyer, *Fragmenta Burana*, p. 123.

Et unusquisque pro se respon-
(deat):

Numquid ego sum, domine?

Et dominus r(espondeat):

Qui intinguit mecum manum
in parapside, hic me tradet.
Filius quidem hominis vadit,
sicut scriptum est de illo. Ve
autem homini illi, per quem
filius hominis tradetur! bonum
erat illi, si natus non fuisset
homo ille.

R(espondeat) Judas:

Numquid ego sum, Rabbi?

Et dominus dicat:

Tu dixisti.

Tunc medio tempore vadat
Judas ad pontifices et ad Judeos
et dicat:

Quid vultis michi dare? et ego
vobis eum tradam?

At illi constituent ei:

Triginta argenteos.

Et ista hora accipiat dominus
panem, frangat, benedicat et
dicat:

Accipite et comedite, hoc est
corpus meum.

Similiter et calicem.

Et postquam cenauit dominus
dicat:

Et contristati valde, coeper-
unt singuli dicere:

Numquid ego sum, Domine?

At ipse respondens, ait:

Qui intingit mecum manum
in paropside, hic me tradet.
Filius quidem hominis vadit,
sicut scriptum est de illo; vae
autem homini illi, per quem Fi-
lius hominis tradatur! bonum
erat ei, si natus non fuisset
homo ille.

Respondens autem Judas, qui
tradidit eum dixit:

Numquid ego sum, Rabbi?

Ait illi:

Tu dixisti.¹

Tunc abiit unus de duodecim,
qui dicebatur Judas Iscariotes,
ad principes sacerdotum, et ait
illis:

Quid vultis mihi dare; et ego
vobis eum tradam?

Et illi constituerunt ei tri-
ginta argenteos.²

Coenantibus autem eis, accepit
Jesus panem, et benedixit, ac
fregit, deditque discipulis suis,
et ait:

Accipite, et comedite; hoc est
corpus meum.

Et accipiens calicem, gratias
egit, et dedit illis, dicens:

Bibite ex hoc omnes. Hic est
enim sanguis meus novi testa-
menti, qui pro multis effunde-
tur in remissionem peccatorum.³

¹ Matt. xxvi, 17-25.

² Matt. xxvi, 14-15.

³ Matt. xxvi, 26-28.

Surgite, eamus hinc; ecce ap-
propinquabit, qui me tradet.

Et Judas accedens ad Jesum
clamando dicat:

Ave rabbi!

Et osculando irruant (irru-
at?) in eum. Tunc dominus
dicat:

Amice, ad quid venisti?

Judei et milites accedant ad
dominum et manus iaceant (*i.*
e., iaciant) in eum et teneant
eum.

Surgite, eamus; ecce appro-
pinquavit qui me tradet.¹

Et confestim accedens ad
Jesum dixit:

Ave Rabbi!

Et osculatus est eum. Dixit-
que illi Jesus:

Amice, ad quid venisti?

Tunc accesserunt, et manus
injecerunt in Jesum, et tenuerunt
eum.²

These brief comparisons are, perhaps, adequate examples of the evidence³ that the dialogue of the passion-play is, in many cases, the dialogue of the *passio*.

¹ Matt. xxvi, 46.

² Matt. xxvi, 49-50.

³ Abundant evidence of the fact that the earlier passion-plays derive not only their groundwork but also much of their dialogue directly from the *passio* may be adduced from a comparison of the *passio* with the relevant parts of the passion-plays found in the following places:

(1) Latin,—*Bullettino dell' Istituto Storico Italiano*, No. 8, Roma, 1889, pp. 162-165.

(2) German,—Froning, pp. 340-373, 567-857; Mone, *Schauspiele des Mittelalters*, Vol. i, pp. 72-128, Vol. ii, pp. 183-350.

(3) French,—A. Jubinal, *Mystères inédits du Quizième Siècle*, Vol. ii, Paris, 1837, pp. 139-311.

(4) Italian,—A. D'Ancona, *Sacre Rappresentazioni*, Vol. i, Firenze, 1872, pp. 303-327; F. Torraca, *Il Teatro Italiano dei Secoli xiii, xiv e xv*, Firenze, 1885, pp. 47-64.

(5) English,—*The Chester Plays*, edited by T. Wright, London, 1843, Vol. ii, pp. 18-70; *The Towneley Plays*, edited by England and Pollard, London, 1897, pp. 204-292; *York Plays*, edited by L. T. Smith, Oxford, 1885, pp. 219-371; *Ludus Coventriae*, edited by J. O. Halliwell, London, 1841, pp. 259-337.

I am, of course, far from being the first to point out the presence of *passio* formulæ in the passion-play. I introduce this point here because I think it has been neglected, and because it follows logically upon my discussion of the ceremonial of the *passio*.

II.

Leaving, then, our suggestions as to the relation of *passiones* to passion-plays, we may, in conclusion, consider the relation of one small part of the passion-play to a parallel part of the *passio* and to an independent liturgical office in which this part is treated dramatically.

All four *passiones* end, as they logically must, with the account of the burial of Jesus by Joseph of Arimathea or by Joseph and Nicodemus together.¹ This account is fairly represented by the following two passages:

Cum autem sero factum esset, venit quidam homo dives ab Arimathea, nomine Joseph, qui et ipse discipulus erat Jesu. Hic accessit ad Pilatum et petiit corpus Jesu. Tunc Pilatus jussit reddi corpus. Et accepto corpore Joseph involvit illud in sindone munda. Et posuit illud in monumento suo novo, quod exciderat in petra. Et advolvit saxum magnum ad ostium monumenti, et abiit.²

Post haec autem rogavit Pilatum Joseph ab Arimathea (eo quod esset discipulus Jesu, occultus autem propter metum Judaeorum), ut tolleretur corpus Jesu. Et permisit Pilatus. Venit ergo, et tulit corpus Jesu. Venit autem et Nicodemus, qui venerat ad Jesum nocte primum, ferens mixturam myrrhae et aloes, quasi libras centum. Acceperunt ergo corpus Jesu, et ligaverunt illud linteis cum aromatibus, sicut mos est Judaeis sepelire. Erat autem in loco, ubi crucifixus est, hortus; et in horto monumentum novum, in quo nondum quisquam positus erat. Ibi ergo propter Parasceven Judaeorum, quia juxta erat monumentum, posuerunt Jesum.³

At a comparatively early period this final part of the *passio* narrative became the basis of a dramatic office,

¹ See Chambers, Vol. II, p. 39; B. Venzmer, *Die Chöre im geistlichen Drama des deutschen Mittelalters*, Ludwigslust, 1897, p. 14; Mone, *Schauspiele des Mittelalters*, Vol. I, p. 61; E. Wilken, *Geschichte der geistlichen Spiele in Deutschland*, Göttingen, 1872, p. 93.

² Matt., xxvii, 57-60.

³ Joan., xix, 38-42.

which was celebrated on Good Friday, usually just after Mass, and which was called the *Depositio Crucis*. The central act of the *Depositio* was the placing of the crucifix (*crux*, or *crucifixus*), or of the crucifix together with a consecrated Host (*hostia*), in an appropriate place called the *sepulchrum*,¹ where it should remain "buried" until Easter morning. Since the number of texts of this office hitherto printed is small,² I offer here a few representative examples.

The *Depositio Crucis* is fairly represented by a text from ms. latin 9486 (fol. 41^r-42^r) of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.³ Although the ceremonial is meager, the *responsoria* appear in full.

<DEPOSITIO CRUCIFIXI> 4

TUNC ACCEDANT OMNES AD COMMUNIONEM.⁵ POSTEA
UADANT CUM CANDELIS ARDENTIBUS ET INCENSU (fol. 41^v)
AD LOCUM SEPULCHRI ET IMPONANT CRUCEM CUM EU-

¹ For sources of information concerning the *sepulchrum* see *Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters*, Vol. xvi, Part II (1909), pp. 895-896.

² Texts of the *Depositio Crucis* can be found in Milchsack, *Die lateinischen Osterfeiern*, Wolfenbüttel, 1880, pp. 122, 127, 134; *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, Vol. xxiv (1909), pp. 319-320; *Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters*, Vol. xvi, Part II (1909), pp. 902, 906-907, 911, 914, 916-917, 926; Chambers, Vol. II, p. 312.

³ The ms. is described by L. Delisle (*Inventaire des Manuscrits latins conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale sous les numéros 8823-18613*, Paris, 1863-1871, p. 35) as "Rituel de l'abb. de S. Adolph. XII s." The ms. contains a *Visitatio Sepulchri* (fol. 60^r-60^v, printed in the Appendix below), but no *Elevatio Crucis*.

⁴ Paris, Bibl. Nat., ms. lat. 9486, fol. 41^r-42^r.

⁵ Communio of the Missa Praesantificatorum of Good Friday.

CHARISTIA. IN EUNDO CANTETUR *responsorium*: Ecce quomodo moritur iustus, et nemo percipit corde, et uiri iusti tolluntur, et nemo considerat; a facie iniquitatis oblatu est iustus et erit in pace memoria eius. *Versus*: In pace factus est locus eius, et in Sion habitacio eius. Et erit. *Responsorium*: Recessit pastor noster, fons aque uiue ad cuius transitum sol obscuratus est, nam et ille captus est qui captiuum tenebat primum hominem, hodie portas mortis et seras pariter saluator noster dirupit. *Versus*: Ante cuius conspectum mors fugit, ad cuius uocem mortui resurgunt, uidentes autem eum porte mortis confracte sunt. Ho<die>.

IMPOSITA AUTEM CRUCE, CANTENTUR HEE ANTIPHONAE:
Antiphona: In pace in idipsum dormiam et requiescam.
Antiphona: Caro (fol. 42^r) mea requiescet in spe.

SUDARIO SUPERPOSITO, CANTETUR *Responsorium*: Sepulto domino signatum est monumentum, uoluentes lapidem ad hostium monumenti, ponentes milites qui custodirent eum. *Versus*: Ne forte ueniant discipuli eius et furentur eum, et dicant plebi, surrexit a mortuis. Ponentes.

SEQUUNTUR VESPERAE ¹ SUB SILENTIO.

An advance toward drama seems to be suggested by the ceremonial prescribed in the *Depositio* from Cod. lat. 5349 (fol. 195^r-195^v), of the Staatsbibliothek, Munich.²

¹ The ms. seems to have *Vespera*.

² Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Cod. lat. 5349, 15th century breviary from Chiemsee. In addition to the *Depositio* (fol. 195^r-195^v), the manuscript contains also an *Elevatio Crucis* (fol. 197^v-198^r, printed in the Appendix below), and a *Visitatio Sepulchri* (fol. 199^r-199^v, printed by Lange, pp. 102-103).

<DEPOSITIO CRUCIS>¹

(fol. 195^r, col. 2) ITEM COMUNIONE² EXPLETA ET SEPULCHRO PREPARATO ET DECENTER ORNATO SINT IMPROMPTO TRIA THURIBULA CUM INCENSO, THURE, MIRRA, ET THIMIAMATE, ET QUATUOR CANDELE ARDENTES, ET PONTIFEX SEU PRESBYTER CUM ALIIS (FOL. 195^v, COL. 1) SACERDOTIBUS ET MINISTRIS PORTENT YMAGINEM CRUCIFIXI UERSUS SEPULCHRUM LUGUBRI UOCE CANTANTES HOC RESPONSORIUM: Ecce quomodo moritur iustus, et nemo percipit corde; uiri iusti tolluntur et nemo considerat; a facie iniquitatis sublatus est iustus, et erit in pace memoria eius. *Versus*: In pace factus est locus eius, et in Syon habitacio eius. Et.

Responsorio FINITO, COLLOCETUR IN SEPULCHRO ET LINTHEAMINIBUS ET SUDARIO COOPERIATUR. DEINDE LAPIS SUPERPONATUR. QUO FACTO CLERUS IMPONAT ISTA RESPONSORIA: Sepulto domino, signatum est monumentum, uoluentes lapidem ad hostium monumenti, ponentes milites, ut custodirent illud. *Versus*: Ne forte ueniant discipuli eius et furentur eum, et dicant plebi surrexit a mortuis. Ponentes. *Responsorium*: Recessit pastor noster, fons aque uiue, ad cuius transitum sol obscuratus est, nam et ille captus est qui captiuum tenebat primum hominem; hodie portas mortis et seras pariter saluator noster dirupit. *Versus*: Ante cuius conspectum mors fugit, ad cuius uocem mortui (fol. 195^v, col. 2) resurgunt, uidentes autem eum porte mortis confracte sunt. Hodie.

Sequatur versus: In pace factus est locus. Postea dicantur Vespere suppressa uoce.

¹ Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Cod. lat. 5349, saec. xv, fol. 195^r-195^v.

² Communio of the Missa Praesantificatorum of Good Friday.

A similar ceremonial, with somewhat different liturgical formulæ, is found in MS. Rawlinson Liturgical d. iv (fol. 68^v-70^r) in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.¹

<DEPOSITIO CRUCIS>²

(fol. 68^v) FINITIS Vesperis³ EXUAT SACERDOS CASULAM 7 ASSUMENS UNUM DE PRELATIS IN SUPERPELLICIIS DISCALCIARI REPONANT CRUCEM PARITER CUM CORPORE DOMINICO IN SEPULCRO INCIPIENS IPSE SOLUS HOC RESPONSORIUM: Estimatus sum, GENUFLECTENDO CUM SOCIO SUO, QUO INCEPTO STATIM SURGAT. SIMILITER FIAT IN RESPONSORIO: Sepulto Domino. CHORUS TOTUM RESPONSORIUM PROSEQUATUR CUM SUO UERSU GENUFLECTENDO PER TOTUM TEMPUS USQUE AD FINEM SERVICII RESPONSORII: (fol. 69^r) Estimatus sum, CHORUS PROSEQUATUR RESPONSORIUM: Cum descendentibus in lacum, factus sum sicut homo sine adiutorio, inter mortuos liber. VERSUS: Posuerunt me in lacu inferiori in tenebris et in umbra mortis. FACTUS. DUM PREDICTUM RESPONSORIUM CUM SUO UERSU CANITUR, PREDICTI DUO SACERDOTES THURIFICENT SEPULCRUM, QUO FACTO 7 CLAUSO OSTIO, INCIPIAT IDEM SACERDOS HOC SEQUENS RESPONSORIUM: Sepulto domino. CHORUS RESPONDEAT: Signatum est monumentum, uoluentes lapidem ad ostium mo (fol. 69^v) numenti, ponentes milites qui custodirent illud. VERSUS: Ne forte ueniant discipuli eius

¹ MS. Rawlinson Liturgical d. iv, saec. xiv, a *Processionale* from the Church of St. John the Evangelist, Dublin. The *Depositio* (fol. 68^v-70^r), *Elevationes* (fol. 85^v-86^v, 127^v-130^r), and *Visitatio* (fol. 130^r-132^r) from this MS. have been published together by the present writer in *Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters*, Vol. xvi, Part II (1909), pp. 915-924.

² Bodleian MS. Rawlinson Liturgical d. iv., fol. 68^v-70^r.

³ Vespers of Good Friday.

7 furentur eum et dicant plebi, surrexit a mortuis. Ponentes. SACERDOS *antiphonam*: In pace. CHORUS PROSEQUATUR: In idipsum dormiam et requiescam. SACERDOS *antiphonam*: In pace factus est. CHORUS PROSEQUATUR: Locus eius et in Syon habitacio eius. SACERDOS *antiphonam*: Caro mea. CHORUS PROSEQUATUR: Requiescet in spe. AD ISTAS TRES *antiphonas* GENUFLECTENTUR *predicti* DUO SACERDOTES CONTINUE. HII FINITIS ORDINE (fol. 70^r) NON SERUATO REINDUAT SACERDOS CASUALAM 7 EODEM MODO QUO ACCESSIT IN PRINCIPIO SERVICII CUM DIAcono 7 SUBDIAcono 7 CETERIS MINISTRIS ABSEDAT, *dictis* PRIUS ORATIONIBUS AD PLACITUM SECRETE AB OMNIBUS CUM GENUFLECTIONE, OMNIBUS ALIIS AD LIBITUM RECEDENTIBUS. EXINDE CONTINUE ARDEBIT UNUS CEREUS AD MINUS ANTE SEPULCRUM USQUE AD PROCESSIONEM QUE FIT IN RESURRECCIONE Dominica IN DIE PASCHE. ITA TANTUM QUOD DUM *psalmus*: *Benedictus*, CANITUR 7 CETERA QUE SECUNTUR IN SEQUENTI NOCTE EXTINGUATUR. SIMILITER 7 EXTINGUATUR IN VIGILIA PASCE DUM BENEDICITUR NOUUS IGNIS USQUE ACCENDATUR CEREUS PASCHALIS.¹

A more truly dramatic form of *Depositio* is found in ms. 169 (p. 108), belonging to University College,² Oxford, described as a "Benedictine Ordinal of the Nuns of Barking, of the first decade of the fifteenth century."³

¹ The rubric, *Sabbato in Vigilia Pasce*, follows immediately.

² Actually in the custody of the Bodleian Library (in 1908).

³ W. H. Frere, *Bibliotheca Musico-Liturgica*, Vol. I, p. 149. The *Depositio* (p. 108) and the combined *Elevatio* and *Visitatio* (pp. 118-127) from this MS. have been published together by the present writer in *Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters*, Vol. XVI, Part II (1909), pp. 926-934.

<DEPOSITIO CRUCIS>¹

. . . (p. 108) CUM² AUTEM SANCTA CRUX FUERIT ADORATA, SACERDOTES DE LOCO PREDICTO CRUCEM ELEUANTES INCIPIANT *antiphonam*: Super omnia ligna, 7 CHORO ILLO SUBSEQUENTE TOTAM CONCINANT. CANTRICE INCIPIENTE, DEFERANT CRUCEM AD MAGNUM ALTARE, IBIQUE IN SPECIE IOSEPH 7 NICHODEMI DE LIGNO DEponentes YMAGINEM UULNERA CRUCIFIXI UIINO ABLUANT 7 AQUA. Dum AUTEM HEC FIUNT CONCINAT CONUENTUS *responsorium*: Ecce quomodo moritur iustus, SACERDOTE INCIPIENTE 7 CANTRICE RESPONDENTE 7 CONUENTU SUCCINENTE. Post UULNERUM ABLUCIONEM cum CANDELABRIS 7 TURRIBULO DEFERANT ILLAM AD SEPULCRUM HAS CANENTES *antiphonas*: In pace in idipsum. *Antiphona*: Habitabit. *Antiphona*: Caro mea. Cumque in PREDICTUM LOCUM TAPETUM PALLEO AURICULARI quoque 7 LINTHEIS NITIDISSIMIS DECENTER ORNATUM ILLAM cum REUERENCIA LOCAUERINT, CLAUDAT SACERDOS SEPULCRUM 7 INCIPIAT *responsorium*: Sepulto domino. ET TUNC ABBATISSA OFFERAT CEREUM, QUI IUGITER ARDEAT ANTE SEPULCRUM, NEC EXTINGUATUR DONEC YMAGO IN NOCTE PASCHE post MATUTINAS DE SEPULCRO cum CEREIS 7 THURE 7 PROCESSIONE RESUMPTA, SUO REPONATUR IN LOCO.

This last text clearly approximates true drama. Priests, "in specie Ioseph et Nichodemi," remove the Corpus from the Cross, and after having prepared it for burial by washing the wounds, place the Corpus in the *sepul-*

¹ Oxford, University College, ms. 169, p. 108.

² Preceded immediately by the *Adoratio Crucis*.

chrum, close the *sepulchrum*, and set lights before it. The words *in specie Ioseph et Nichodemi* are difficult of interpretation. If they indicate genuine impersonation on the part of the priests, the dramatic office before us may fairly be called true drama. Certainly a part of the Gospel story is here presented in the form of action, and it is altogether probable that the priests in some way impersonate Joseph and Nicodemus.¹

Whether or not any text of the *Depositio* hitherto published represent true drama, the dramatic value of this office seems clearly to have been appreciated, and its influence seems to be definitely shown in a substantial number of passion-plays. Although an exhaustive study of the sources of passion-plays is not my present task, I may fairly give a brief indication as to the adoption of the *Depositio* into these plays.

The *Frankfurter Dirigierrolle*² of the fourteenth century, for example, though a mere book of *incipits* or cues for the *Regens ludi*, plainly show the presence of *Depositio* formulæ in a vernacular play of the Passion.

Deinde Joseph, Nychodemus et eorum adiutores induti stolis et albis circumdati deponant Ihesum et panno mundissimo involutum deportent ad monumentum cantantes sub silentio:

Ecce quomodo moritur iustus!³

¹Unfortunately we cannot tell how many persons are implied in the word *sacerdotes*. If there were only *two* priests, impersonation would appear almost certain.

²Text in Froning, pp. 340-373. Concerning this document see Froning, pp. 325-339; Creizenach, Vol. I, pp. 219-220.

³For the full text see *Depositio* No. (1) above,—Responsorium: Ecce quomodo moritur iustus, et nemo percipit corde, et uiri iusti tolluntur, et nemo considerat; a facie iniquitatis oblatus est iustus, et erit in pace memoria eius. Versus: In pace factus est locus eius, et in Sion habitacio eius. Et erit.

Responsorium: Sepulto domino signatum est monumentum, uol-

Sepulto itaque domino Judei veniant ad Pylatum petentes custodiam, et dicat Selegman:

Pylatus herre, uns ist bekant—

Pylatus dicat:

Ir Iuden, als ir hat geseit—

Salman dicat militibus:

Nû get ir herren, hudit wol—

Milites audientes promissa Judeorum gaudeant, et dicat unus miles:

Ir herren, ich han wol vernumen—

Euntibus igitur militibus ad sepulchrum persone Cantabunt sollemniter:

Sepulto do<mino>.¹

Similarly in the *Alsfelder Passionsspiel*,¹ of about the year 1500, we find a burial scene containing the now familiar *responsoria* of the *Depositio*:²

Johannes dicit ad Joseph:

Joseph von Armathia,
ich sage dir, das Maria
ist also vol jamers nu,
das sie dir nicht kan gesprechen zu!
doch begert sie von der,
das du Jhesum nemmest schyer
und begrabet en hirlich,
also recht ist und zemmlich!

Et sic Joseph et Nicodemus, Johannes et Jacobus maior et angeli capiunt crucifixum de gremio Marie et ponunt eum ad feretrum, portando eum ad sepulchrum, et canunt illud responsorium:

Ecce quomodo moritur <iustus, et nemo percipit corde, et uiri iusti tolluntur, et nemo considerat; a facie iniquitatis oblatus est iustus, et erit in pace memoria eius. Versus: In pace factus est

uentes lapidem ad hostium monumenti, ponentes milites qui custodirent eum. Versus: Ne forte ueniant discipuli eius et furentur eum, et dicant plebi, surrexit a mortuis. Ponentes.

¹Text in Froning, pp. 567-857. Concerning this play see Froning, pp. 547-561; Creizenach, Vol. I, pp. 221-222.

²Froning, p. 811.

locus eius, et in Sion habitacio eius. Et erit>.¹ Et sic ipso sepulto canunt in reditu responsorium:

Sepulto domino <signatum est monumentum, uoluentes lapidem ad hostium monumenti, ponentes milites qui custodirent eum. Versus: Ne forte ueniant discipuli eius et furentur eum, et dicant plebi, surrexit a mortuis. Ponentes>.¹

These two examples² seem, then, to indicate that the *Depositio Crucis* developed not only as an independent dramatic office, but also as a modest part of certain larger plays of the Passion. Among the passion-plays that show this influence, those in German are most conspicuous.

The observations in the present article lay no claim to completeness. Numerous elements connected with the origin of the passion-play,—such as sermons and the entire ceremonial of Holy Week,—have not even been mentioned. I have, indeed, made no attempt to pursue to the end even

¹ For the expansions in brackets the present writer is responsible.

² See also Mone, *Schauspiele des Mittelalters*, Vol. I, p. 123; Vol. II, pp. 141, 149, 332; A. Pichler, *Ueber das Drama des Mittelalters in Tirol*, Innsbruck, 1850, p. 138; Du Méril, p. 303. The absence of *Depositio* formulæ from the early Latin passion-plays (Froning, pp. 284-299; Meyer, *Fragmenta Burana*, pp. 123-124; *Bullettino dell' Istituto Storico Italiano*, 1889, pp. 162-165) is remarkable.

One may well inquire whether the pertinent *responsoria* (Ecce quomodo . . . , Sepulto domino . . . , and the like) may not have reached the passion-plays directly from the *Liber Responsalis* (cf. *Liber Responsalis Sancti Gregorii Magni*, Migne, *Pat. lat.*, LXXVIII, 768-769) rather than through the mediation of the *Depositio*. In reply it may be observed that in the *Liber Responsalis* the *responsoria* are in no way associated with Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus, whereas in the *Depositio* and in the passion-plays this association is explicit,—an association that seems to establish the direct relation of *Depositio* to passion-play.

such studies as are suggested by the obvious relation of *passio* and *Depositio*, respectively, to passion-play. My aim has been merely to assist in clearing the way for a sound discussion of the relation of the passion-play to the *passio* and to the *planctus Mariæ*.

It appears that, although the delivery of the *passio* in dialogue form by several persons was unknown until a century or two after the date of the earliest passion-plays, the dramatic value of the *passio* was so clearly appreciated that the *passio* itself became the groundwork of the earlier passion-plays. The admirable studies of the *planctus Mariæ* have revealed the fact that versions of this lament in dialogue form were written as early as the twelfth century, and that certain of these laments eventually developed into true drama. It has not been definitely proved, however, that the *planctus* developed into a true passion-play,—a play covering the entire Passion,—at a period antedating the rise of such true passion-plays as the *Ludus breviter de passione* and the longer *Passion-play* of the Benedictbeuern manuscript. In these two plays, as in other early plays that follow the *passio*, the *planctus* is only an insertion, the removal of which would in no serious way affect the action. Although it may be true that the *planctus* provided the first tangible impulse toward a dramatizing of the Passion, the true passion-plays actually written seem, in general, to rest firmly upon the *passio*, and to use the *planctus* only incidentally.

APPENDIX.

For the sake of convenience and of completeness I offer here two texts related to the *Depositio* texts printed above.

<VISITATIO SEPULCHRI>.¹

(fol. 60^r) <I>_N VISITACIONE SEPULCHRI INFRA
MAT<UT>INAS, DUO *presbyteri* UENIANT CUM THURI-
BULIS AD SEPULCHRUM, *quibus* DUO DIACONES INDUTI
ALBIS ET STOLIS DICANT:

Quem queritis in sepulchro, *Xpisticole*?

Presbyteri RESPONDEANT:

Ihesum nazarenum crucifixum, o celicole.

DIACONES DICUNT:

Non est hic, surrexit sicut predixerat; ite, nuntiate quia
surrexit a morte. Venite et uidete locum ubi positus erat
dominus, *aeua, aeua*.

TUNC *presbyteri*, ACCEPTO SUDARIO, REUERTENTES CAN-
TENT *clausulam*:

(fol. 60^v) *Antiphona*: Surrexit *Xpistus* et illuxit
populo suo, quem redemit sanguine suo, *aeua*.

ALIA *antiphona*: Surrexit enim sicut dixit dominus,
et precedet uos in Galileam, *aeua*; ibi eum uidebitis, *aeua*,
aeua, aeua.

POST HEC MANIFESTE ET ALTA UOCE *antiphona*:

Surrexit dominus de sepulchro, qui pro nobis pependit
in ligno, *aeua, aeua, aeua*.

FINITA *antiphona* INCIPIAT *Abbas*:

Te Deum laudamus.²

<ELEVATIO CRUCIS>.³

(fol. 197^v) IN *sancta* NOCTE CLAM SURGATUR AD
MATUTINUM, SINTQUE PARATA TRIA THURIBULA CUM

¹ Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. lat. 9486, saec. XII, fol. 60^r-60^v.

² Followed immediately by the rubric, In Die Sancto ad Aspersio-
nem Aque. . . .

³ Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Cod. lat. 5349, saec. XV, fol. 197^v-198^r.
With this text may be compared a similar text from Cod. lat. 5546

THURE MIRRA ET THIMIAMATE, ET DOMINUS *prepositus* SEU DECANUS CUM SENIORIBUS QUOS ASSUMMERE UOLUERIT CUM MAGNA REUERENCIA ACCEDANT AD SEPULCHRUM, ET STANTES LEGANT psalmos: Domine, quid multiplicati; Psalmum: Domine probasti me; Psalmum: Miserere mei, Deus; ET THURIFICENT YMAGINEM CRUCIFIXI, SUBLATAMQUE DE SEPULCHRO SECUM PORTENT AD CHORUM ANTE ALTARE, per UIAM CANTANDO *responsorium*: Surrexit pastor, UT IN FERIA QUINTA. Quibus FINITIS, STANTES ANTE ALTARE ET MUTUA CARITATE SE INUICEM OSCULANTES VERBUM DICANT: Surrexit dominus uere, alleluia. <RESPONSIO>: Et apparuit Symoni Petro, alleluia.

Oracio:

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui hac sacratissima nocte cum potencia tue maiestatis resurgens portas inferni confregisti et omnibus ibi detentis dexteram tue misericordie porrexisti scilicet miserando diucius penis estuantis Iehenne cruciari, quos dudum ad ymaginem tuam iussisti creari, Te queso ego indignus et ultima pars creature, ut per gratiam tue miseracionis ac perfecte resurrectionis tue amorem necnon omnium sanctarum animarum, quas hac sacratissima nocte de penis inferni ad celestia regna perduxisti, simulque per omne misterium, quod in resurrectione tua celebrasti michi indigno ac fragili peccatori omnium peccatorum meorum indulgentiam largiri digneris atque iram et furorem et indignacionem tue uindictae a me repellas et auxilium consolacionem proteccionem in omnibus peccatis, periculis ac infirmitatibus anime et corporis michi concedas; et sicut corpus tue humanitatis quod ad

tempus pro nostra salute exuisti post triduum tue maiestatis potencia resuscitasti, ita corpus et cor meum ab omnibus uiciis emundare <digneris> et animam meam in futura resurreccione beatorum spiritibus facias agregari. In memoriam et laudem glorie resurreccionis tue ympnum dicat tibi omnis creatura tua, Domine, et ego quamuis peccator et de (fol. 198^r) linquens ympnum dico et gratias ago, uenerandamque crucem tuam adoro, sanctamque resurreccionem tuam laudo et glorifico, quia parte redemptus sum, ideoque crucifixum Deum laudo et sepultum propter me magnifico resurgentemque a mortuis adoro et peto ut per te et sanctam resurreccionem tuam me a morte anime mee resuscitare digneris, amen.

ALIA ORATIO:

Celi et terre conditor, quo moriente illuminata sunt tartara, quo resurgente sanctorum multitudo gauisa est, quo ascendente celorum exultauit caterua, precamur uirtutis tue excellenciam ut directi in uia recta in illo tueamur brachiis, quo honorabiles amici tui tecum gloriantur in excelsis.

ALIA ORATIO:

Adesto, pie Pater, inuocationibus nostris, et noli spernere plasma tuum propter magnitudinem peccatorum meorum sed salua me indignum nimium peccatorem per gloriam et honorem sanctissime resurreccionis tue. Qui uiuis ac regnas.

ALIA:

Domine Deus, propter hoc gaudium, quod tu cum sanctissima tua anima et corpore in sancta resurreccione uoluisti habere cum omnibus fidelibus tuis iustis et peccatoribus uiuentibus et mortuis, miserere michi sicut uis et seis necessitatem anime et corporis, et da michi spacium penitencie et ueram compunccionem emendacionem om-

nium peccatorum meorum, et presta mihi, Ihesu Xpiste, ut precium corporis et sanguinis tui cum quo me in sancta cruce redemisti percipiam ad salutem anime mee in nouissima hora et quod spiritualement unccionem spiritualis olei et salutaris cum omni affectu cordis et corporis percipiam, amen.

DEINDE COMPULSIONE FACTA, *conueniant omnes ad Matutinum.*

KARL YOUNG.